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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Attention Mrs. M. M. M.
Keep this study together.

June 23, 1969

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Dear Frank:

I have your letter of May 29 regarding Viet-Nam and the ABM and MIRV systems. As you know, these subjects occupy much of my time and attention, and I discussed both of them at some length in my press conference of June 5, accounts of which you have probably seen.

First, with respect to Viet-Nam, there can be no doubt that many of the allegations made by Mr. Luce and other critics of the Government of Viet-Nam have some basis in fact. However, I would not go so far as to conclude that the government there is "unresponsive to the needs of the people" or is "blatantly corrupt." Nor would I conclude that the defects of that government should call into question our basic commitment to assure for the people of South Viet-Nam the right to choose the form of government they are to have.

Rather, I would say that problems of corruption and the sometimes limited responsiveness of the government compound the difficulty of our task and challenge us to work for their correction. As a matter of fact I returned from my visit to Viet-Nam with the strong impression that President Thieu and many Vietnamese officials are genuinely committed to the popular welfare, and I saw a number of projects which gave tangible evidence of such a commitment. I was also made aware by our military and civilian leaders there of a number of areas in which, by our own action or by influencing the South Vietnamese government, we have been able to eliminate or reduce significantly various corrupt practices.

The Honorable
Francis L. Van Dusen,
United States Court of Appeals
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

REVIEWED BY <u>M. J. M.</u>		DATE <u>7/15/69</u>
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In short, as I told the press the other day, it is much easier to criticize the South Vietnamese government from this distance than it is when one is on the scene and can appreciate some of the enormous problems which that government must face. I would agree in part with Mr. Luce's conclusion about the potential effects of "Vietnamizing" the war although, as I have indicated, I cannot agree with the terms in which he states that conclusion. And I would remind you that the policy of "Vietnamization" is one to which the South Vietnamese government, like our own, is committed.

Your second point related to the Safeguard ABM and MIRV systems. As you know, the Pentagon conducted a review before presenting several options on the ABM question to the President. He, in turn, made the decision in favor of the Safeguard system because he felt that it was the "minimum program essential for our security."

A more comprehensive review of our overall security posture vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and any other potential aggressor has also been underway since this Administration came into office. This exhaustive review is in preparation for the bilateral talks which we expect to hold with the Soviets on the limitation of strategic arms, including ABM's, MIRV's and other weapons systems. This review is now complete and the National Security Council is scheduled to meet soon to consider the U.S. position. It is my fervent hope, and the expressed hope of the President, that these impending talks will result in agreements which will control the arms race. I consider solving this problem one of the most urgent goals of this Administration.

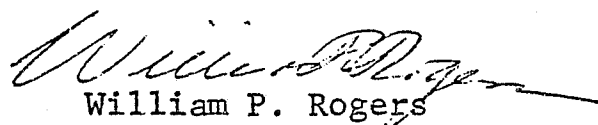
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Your views are greatly appreciated. These are questions of the utmost seriousness, but I believe they can be answered by the government and an informed citizenry working together.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,


William P. Rogers

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UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
WASHINGTON

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OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

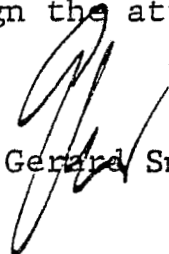
June 13, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject: Reply to letter from Judge Van Dusen

The attached reply has been drafted partly by the Viet-Nam Working Group, EA, and partly by this Agency, with clearance of the second portion by J/PM.

I recommend that you sign the attached reply.


Gerald Smith

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UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT

FRANCIS L. VAN DUSEN
CIRCUIT JUDGE

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19107

May 29, 1969

8657

Honorable William Rogers,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I am sending this letter as a strong supporter of you and of the administration, having voted four times for Mr. Nixon (1952, 1956, 1960 and 1968).

Like most citizens of our country, I have become increasingly disturbed about our support of a government in South Vietnam which is unresponsive to the needs of the people and is blatantly corrupt. The enclosed newspaper article is an inadequate summary of a well presented talk financed by a group of competent businessmen. Mr. Luce gave specific instances of bought governmental positions whose holders extracted payment from the poor to cover the cost of such purchase of their jobs; he also stated that most of the South Vietnam Army would go A.W.O.L. rather than fight. He suggested that immediate withdrawal of many of our troops would be the only factor that would require the government to become responsive to the needs of the people so that the people with confidence in the government would be willing to fight for their government and country. We all recognize that the continuance of the war in Vietnam is tearing our country apart.

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The second point I would like to suggest is the undesirability of the so-called Safeguard ABM and MIRV systems. I enclose a report by Members of Congress who met at Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities, as it seems to me to make many good points. We of the Republican Party are going to lose the votes of the young and of the urban people unless we exhibit more concern for the poor and the disadvantaged.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Van Dusen

Francis L. Van Dusen

FVD:bl

CC. Honorable Hugh Scott
Honorable Richard S. Schweiker
Honorable R. Lawrence Coughlin

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The People versus the Pentagon

by Senators George S. McGovern and Gaylord A. Nelson and
Representatives George Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, John Conyers, Jr.,
Don Edwards, Donald M. Fraser, Robert W. Kastenmeier,
Benjamin S. Rosenthal, William F. Ryan

The ten authors of this introductory essay are the Senators and Representatives who initiated the Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities. Their comments were prepared especially for this issue of The Progressive and were not part of the Conference proceedings.

—THE EDITORS

ON MARCH 28, 1969, two separate but ironically related events occurred which insistently pointed to the most urgent public issue of our time: the role of the military-industrial establishment in the United States.

The first event of that day was the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, himself a hero of the American military heritage. As a departing President he had startled the nation with his Farewell Address, in which he warned of a military establishment supported by an immense arms industry which "has the potential for a disastrous rise of misplaced power." Eight years later his words take on new import—after at least \$500 billion dollars sunk in military expenditures, a disastrous war in Vietnam, a senseless intervention in the Dominican Republic, more than forty-two treaty commitments to as many countries to intervene "in case of aggression"—all this while acute poverty and distress persist within the United States itself.

These misplaced priorities were the setting for the other event of March 28, the Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities, which brought together former Government leaders, foreign policy scholars, experts on weapons technology, economists, Senators and Representatives to investigate the actual enormity of that "misplaced power" of which President Eisenhower warned.

We initiated the Conference in the conviction that Congressional control of military policy must be reasserted and that the level of Congressional analysis of these critical issues can be raised through a greater intimacy between the legislative branch and the intel-

lectual community. Our purpose was to articulate the basic issues of the militarization of American society for the general public as well as for Congress, and to examine concrete proposals for restoring democratic control over the military budget. The substance of our discussions is included in the pages which follow, but two principal themes should be underscored.

The first is the nature of the national security bureaucracy itself. It is composed of the Armed Services, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other bodies provided for in the National Security Act of 1947, and it is closely linked to the aerospace and armaments industry, segments of the labor movement, and a new middle class of scientists, engineers, businessmen, and universities with defense research contracts. This complex is not a conspiracy; it is an enormous, self-perpetuating institutional organism. It receives such a disproportionate amount of Federal funds that there is no effective counterbalance to it, and such decisions as those on Vietnam and ABM are generated from institutional momentum rather than conscious policy decisions.

Second, to reassert control over this enormous bureaucracy we must undertake a new look at our own role in the world, assess the nature of our own social, economic, and political institutions, and redetermine our national priorities. Without such a public debate, we will be unable to translate public anxieties into political realities and forge a new political will to reverse our present priorities.

We hope this Conference will be a forerunner of a debate that will be taken up by local organizations, political clubs, university groups, and every individual man and woman who cares about the society in which he lives. There is a fundamental decision to be made by all of us, and that is how we want our tax dollar to be spent. We are heavily taxed by Federal, state, and local levies. Even with added sales taxes, gasoline taxes, surtaxes, not enough money is generated to provide for such necessary services as schools, public trans-

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portation, parks, pollution control. The pattern is nationwide.

The urgency of our concern is underscored by the critical juncture at which we stand in the development of nuclear weapons. The reason we called for the postponement of ABM deployment, a moratorium on testing of MIRV (multiple individually-targetable re-entry vehicle), and immediate commencement of strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union is that the time for such talks may soon pass the point of no return. Because of the impossibility of detecting the number of warheads inside the deployed missiles we will reach a stage in a few months when neither nation will be able to accept a limitation on its strategic force. The Soviet Union has been pressing for such talks, and we have been putting them off while we complete testing.

A profound indication of the acceleration of the arms race is the fact that our own military strategists are presently engaged in a debate to shift the basic question of defense policy from preventing nuclear war to surviving it.

Unless we act decisively within the next few months, the opportunities for maintaining any kind of security in the next decade may be almost non-existent. The bureaucratic momentum of the defense establishment, with its parochial view of the world, is projecting decisions that are contrary to the needs of the nation and to the well-being of mankind.

The staggering costs of this proposed arms spiral cannot be measured accurately in dollars or in percentage of Gross National Product. The proper measures are in "opportunities foregone": funding the Manned Orbiting Laboratories, or providing Upward Bound summer courses for 600,000 ghetto students who have college potential; permitting excessive contractor costs to go unchecked, or providing Head Start education for 2,250,000 additional children plus enough school lunches to feed twenty million children for a whole year; spending this year's Safeguard funds, or training 510,000 more hard-core unemployed.

In the decade from 1959 to 1968, direct defense outlays of the United States came to more than \$551 billion. This is twice the amount spent for new private and public housing in the same decade, and nearly twice as much as Federal, state, and local governments allocated to education. In 1967 alone, a conservative estimate of military-related spending was \$100 billion. This was more than all Federal, state, and local expenditures on health, hospitals, education, old age benefits, welfare, unemployment, and agriculture.

This order of priorities prevails at a time when twenty million Americans live in dilapidated, rat-infested housing while the building industry cannot even keep up with the population increase and is in fact declining in productivity; when there are at least ten million victims of malnutrition and untold thousands of children with permanent brain damage because of insufficient food; when there are close to forty million people living in poverty with little access to medical or welfare care; while millions of children are doomed

to lives of misery and poverty because of inadequate or non-existent school facilities.

The degree of economic damage done each year by the massive allocation of resources to military spending has been noted by such economists as Kenneth Boulding, who points out that by reducing "domestic consumption by about fifteen per cent and by diverting the growth resource into the rat hole of competitive weapons systems, or even space technology, it unquestionably diminishes the rate of growth by as much as two per cent per annum."

Unlike investments in education or in new factories, expenditures for missiles add nothing to the nation's productive capacity, although they do generate income for a certain segment of the population. Other costs are just as great, although less easily quantified. Civilian businesses suffer because they cannot match the salaries offered by subsidized defense firms; scientists and engineers are trapped into doing research that is contrary to life-serving causes; a new class of business executive arises—men who know little about marketing or cost controls, but who know how to negotiate effectively with Government officials.

The most striking evidence of the decay of our society is that we have sought to meet the local crises of race and poverty by increasing militarization—by training more than 400,000 National Guardsmen and police in local riot control. The pervasive use of military means to solve our social and political problems is the most alarming indication of the emptiness of other conflict-resolving institutions.

In many other subtle ways individual values and ideals have been eroded. We are slowly becoming conditioned to the acceptance of regimentation, wiretapping, snooping, and spying by large national and internal-security related agencies. In many communities the existence of large defense installations has retarded necessary social reform by reinforcing prevailing patterns of segregation and economic rigidity. In industry the military have taken over fundamental business decisions, even necessitating security clearances for business executives.

Eventually we must recognize that the factors which determine our massive military budget are to be found less abroad than they are here at home. The reason we are able to move a wounded Marine from the jungles of Vietnam to the finest medical care in minutes, yet cannot do the same for a sick child on the Mississippi delta or on an Indian reservation, is very much bound up in our image of ourselves.

Being the greatest power in the world carries not only political and economic implications, but psychological elements which many of us have not yet truthfully faced. We do a great deal to buttress that image of power. Other sacrifices we find harder to make. We are six per cent of the world's population using more than sixty per cent of its goods and developed resources. We are convinced that the American way of life is the best in the world, that American management and enterprise are the best in the world, and that capital-

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ism is the best tool for development. The result is that our foreign policy is not dictated as much by external threats, as we would like to think, but is an extension of our own economic, political, and social institutions.

The questions we must ask ourselves are not who are the Russians, or what are the Chinese or Vietnamese about, but who and what are Americans? If anti-Communism is all we can agree on as a national credo, we will never be able to break the psychosis of force and destruction which is the American tragedy.

Our national priorities were set out in the Constitution. Somehow we have forgotten them. The priorities of our forefathers were "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and to provide for the common defense." Our first task is to reinterpret these great goals in light of the realities of the Twentieth Century and the dawn of the Twenty-first Century.

"To form a more perfect union" is to end the racism and discrimination that have long permeated American life. "Our society is moving toward two societies, one white, one black—separate and unequal." The extraordinary Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders outlines the decisive deepening of the racial division of our country. To continue on our present course can only lead to the fragmentation of America into increasingly violent and repressive factions and to the ultimate destruction of basic democratic values. Despite all our talk of strength and wealth and power, we are a weak and divided society.

To form a more perfect union is surely our first task.

"To establish justice" is to end the exploitation of the poor and the weak and to make our legal system one that will insure we are governed by laws and not by men.

At a time when we have equated justice with law and order, it is important that we take a look at the "crime" in our society. The crime we talk about in America is crime in the streets. What about the crime of a society which would shoot a sixteen-year-old for looting a television set but think nothing of hungry children in a land of surplus food? What is not talked about is the crime of a society with dual standards of justice, where property is protected at any price while the costs of extortion, price-fixing, rake-offs, restraint of trade through duress or threat, blackmail, and consumer frauds are either ignored or passed on to the citizen in the form of higher prices. Organized crime drains the body politic of an estimated \$22 billion per year. This crime does not appear in the statistics, but it underlies the moral fabric of our society and gives a hypocritical ring to cries for law and order. The real issue is justice.

"To ensure domestic tranquillity" is to redefine the difficult yet essential role of the police in contemporary society; to assist them in becoming more effective and creative servants of a pluralistic society; and to make

sure that their role is not reduced to that of mere agents of a local power structure. The continued training of police and National Guardsmen in military techniques will not eliminate the economic and social failures which generate discord and disruption.

In the next five years twenty million Americans will leave the rural poverty in which they no longer can eke out a livelihood and migrate to cities which cannot house, feed, educate, or employ them. Massive disorder will be the inevitable result.

In the next few years millions of students will rebel against institutions which allow them no real responsibility, offer them careers they find abhorrent, and send them off to die for wars in which they cannot believe. They will disrupt the only segment of society over which they have any control—schools and universities.

The police and National Guard can quell riots. They cannot bring tranquillity. "There is no more urgent task than to break down the walls of isolation which surround our local police," warned the President's Commission on Law Enforcement. Our police are isolated from the society they serve, and the redefining and reorganization of our entire system of law enforcement—police, courts, and correctional apparatus—are essential to ensuring domestic stability and tranquillity.

"To provide for the common defense" means in the nuclear age to find new ways of leading in international cooperation, of building international institutions which can provide effective arms control and disarmament. The common defense does not require maintaining an American force for every conceivable contingency, however remote, nor does it require an endless arms race of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which, if used, would destroy exactly what we are trying to protect.

One nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union would claim at least 120 million American lives. To offer up a percentage of our population as a human sacrifice is not to provide for the common defense.

The current strategic plans of our armed forces do not meet their Constitutional obligations as historically defined. To provide for defense in the nuclear age is to formulate and carry through a policy aimed at a stable peace. It means, at this point in time, a moratorium on further testing, no further ABM deployment, and successful arms limitation and disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union and other nations. A policy consciously directed towards creation of a stable peace which allows for profound change in the third world must now be fashioned to provide for the common defense of the United States.

How can we reassert the realities of our national priorities? It is clear that President Nixon will be no more able to control military spending than were Presidents Johnson or Kennedy. The size of our national security institutions precludes any partisan responsibility. The most urgent challenge confronting the

Congress today is to reassert control of the military bureaucracy and the policy decisions it has preempted.

This can be accomplished only by effective Congressional leadership backed by a broadly-based, informed, and concerned public constituency. In recent years the military budget and weapons policies have been determined by the Pentagon and the Armed Services Committees without critical evaluation by the Congress or the public. Last year the House Armed Services Committee held months of hearings on the military budget, but of hundreds of witnesses only two were not employees of the Pentagon.

The size and complexity of the military budget make effective review almost impossible once the appropriations measures reach the floor of either House. This year some of our colleagues will attempt to impose a ceiling on the military budget, a ceiling of \$50 billion, which would match the Soviet Union's military budget plus an additional twenty per cent. An attempt will be made to analyze the budget on a line-item basis which would permit us to explore the policies underlying the equipment for which we are asked to vote. If we are asked, for example, to vote millions of dollars for high speed troop transport, we should ask whether or not we want to be able to move troops around the world to various trouble spots at a moment's notice, and if we do, why? Our policies should determine our weapons and not vice versa.

This Conference reflects a new depth and awareness in the public mood which for the first time seems ready to translate concern into effective action. It is our hope that the Conference itself will serve as a catalyst to develop similar debates across the country which will allow us to assert our role as legislators for programs of the future rather than speechmakers on the problems of our past.

The Conference Opens

ROSENTHAL: Concern and indignation have brought us together today. The country is daily growing more impatient about the size of the defense budget and its social effects.

We, the Congressional sponsors of this Conference, are alarmed about this situation and share a deep concern with our constituents. But we believe that Congress, as a whole, has not shown sufficient sensitivity to these issues and to the public's anxieties about them. Our role is to accelerate an awareness of the dangers inherent in the defense budget, the arms race, and the militarization of our society.

We meet here as committed public officials and as representatives of a troubled people. Among our concerns are:

A country which continues to wage war when that war is discredited;

The missiles and anti-missiles which proliferate—while citizens wonder what else this generation of defense experts has in store;

The hundred billion dollars allotted for defense in a single year, when Teacher Corps funds are reduced by half;

The two-thirds of all tax receipts that are spent for defense—more than all Federal, state, and local outlays for social security, health, education, housing, and agriculture;

A military budget which rises each year, spurred by a seemingly self-generating mechanism, which functions with little or no attention to merit.

We seek in this two-day meeting to dramatize these issues by listening to the judgments of distinguished scholars and scientists; to inform ourselves and our Congressional colleagues more fully on these issues; and to take these issues to the public, as we will take them to the Congressional committees and to the floor of Congress.

The magnitude and urgency of these problems are obvious. The answers are less obvious. But, in these two days, we shall undertake the search, which we shall continue throughout this year and the years to come, as long as we are threatened by our own machinery of war.

LARSON: We are at a turning point now in our whole military policy. It is long overdue for complete reappraisal and overhaul. We have a new Administration which has the flexibility and freedom of movement to do something about this much needed overhaul.

Think of some of the changes of the past few years. For one, we have learned, without any doubt at all, that we can't have everything we want on the military side and have everything we need on the domestic side. We used to hear speeches about how we could have them both. We now know better. This transforms the whole discussion of the military budget: Instead of starting out to see how much the military needs and dividing up what is left over for everybody else, we are now heading into a period when we will have an honest competition among the demands of our domestic

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL is a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from New York.

ARTHUR LARSON, chairman of the Conference, is director of the World Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University. He is a former director of the U.S. Information Agency, and he was a special assistant to President Eisenhower. His books include Preventing World War III, Vietnam and Beyond, and A Republican Looks at His Party.

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THE EVENING BULLETIN

May 23, 1969

Urges Gradual Pullout

U. S. Volunteer Sums Up Vietnam: Corruption, Political Repression

By JOSEPH R. DAUGHEN
Of The Bulletin Staff

Shortly after he got to South Vietnam, Don Luce walked into a restaurant and confidently ordered chicken soup — in Vietnamese.

"What I got was octopus soup," Luce recalled yesterday. "I learned the words for chicken and octopus pretty fast after that."

This was in 1958, and Luce was an eager 23-year-old agricultural economist working for International Voluntary Services, an organization largely financed by the Agency for International Development.

Over the next nine years, Luce, a native of East Calais, Vt., became fluent in Vietnamese and acquired a deep fondness for the people.

realized that the Vietnamese, far from being grateful, were growing increasingly hostile to the U. S.

"We failed to realize how closely related family ties and political associations are," Luce said in an interview. "By bombing villages and killing civilians, we drove the survivors to the Viet Cong. The methods we've used have made more Viet Cong than we've killed."

4 Resign in Protest

In 1967, Luce and three other IVS officials started questioning the war in conversations with the American Embassy in Saigon. When they were ignored, the four resigned and sent a letter, signed by 49 other IVS workers, to President Johnson protesting that the U. S. "was

In 1968, he said, 16,000 political prisoners were taken. The repression, he added, is directed against the "Third Force" in the nation—the large middle group that looks with disfavor upon the Thieu-Ky regime and the Viet Cong.

Leaders of this group, including Buddhists and liberal Catholics, are being arrested and jailed for expressing their views, he said.

"We're building the prisons for them to do this," said Luce. "We're supposed to be in Vietnam to protect freedom, but the opposition is being put in jail."

Meets With Prisoners

Despite his disillusionment with U. S. policy, Luce returned to Vietnam last October under the sponsorship

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

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June 16, 1969

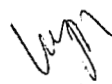
Sir:

The attached letter for your signature (Tab A) is in response to Judge Van Dusen's letter to you dated May 29 (Tab B).

In his letter Judge Van Dusen expressed his disturbance over our support of the South Vietnamese Government and his opposition to the ABM and MIRV systems.


John P. Walsh

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